

The Classical Weekly

Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price \$2.00 per volume.

Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918

VOL. XIII, No. 10

MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 1920

WHOLE No. 351

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 5, 1920

No. 10

ANALYSIS OF HORACE, SERMONES 2.3

A Stoic Lecture: '(Practically) Every Man is Insane'

I. Introduction: Dialogue, between Damasippus and Horace, leading up to the Lecture proper (1-40).

1. *Damasippus*.—'Why don't you write <Satire> oftener? Why aren't you writing it *now*? (1-4). You made preparations enough to do so, for (1) you left town, at the time of the Saturnalia, too (4-5), (2) you said you would (5-6), and (3) you brought with you books in plenty, and of just the right sort, too (7-12). Does your inaction mean that you are really, in your secret soul, planning to desert Satire? (13). Better not! If that is what your inaction means, you'll smart for it' (14-16).

2. *Horace*.—'Thanks awfully. Where did you get this knowledge—so perfect (?)—of me?' (16-18).

3. *Damasippus*.—'Oh, research is, as it always has been, my line. At present, I'm looking after others; once I had a passion for hunting up antiques, in marble and in bronze: I bought up gardens and city mansions, too' (18-26).

4. *Horace*.—'I know: how did you get cured of that disease?' (26-27).

5. *Damasippus*.—'In a perfectly wonderful way: it was driven out by a new one. That is a common enough phenomenon: witness the case of the man who, roused from a stupor, fought his doctor and pressed him sorely' (28-30).

6. *Horace*.—'Well, if you will promise not to be as crazy as he, go as far as you like in the lecture you evidently mean to give me' (31).

7. *Damasippus*.—'Crazy am I? You're crazy yourself, and so is practically every body: the only exception is the philosopher. I've got all that here in the notes I took of a Lecture Stertinius¹ gave me, one day when, upset by my failure in business, I tried to commit suicide' (32-40).

II. Stertinius's Lecture, as reported by Damasippus (41-295)².

¹Horace's use of 'redende Namen' in this piece is worth noting. Stertinius, 'Snorer', is a good name for the Stoic lecturer; so is Cicuta, 'Hemlock' (69), for such a poisonous wretch as the money-lender. Opimius, 'Mr. Resources', 'Mr. Resourceful', is another fine name, especially as it makes possible the oxymoron *pauper Opimius*, 142, and opens the way for the doctor's *lusus verborum* in 153: *deficient inopem venae* i.e. 'Your veins will fail you, and you will become Mr. Resourceless'. Again, Oppidius, 'Townsmen', 168, is a good name for a man who is to preach against the allurements of *ambitio*, as that reprehensible quality is shown in the passion for public office.

²I have not thought it necessary, in this division of the Analysis, to set quotation-marks about the summaries or paraphrases of Horace's thoughts. My own comments I shall set 'solid', or relegate to footnotes.

I. Introduction: indication of the nature and the scope of the theme of the Lecture (41-81).

(a) Preliminaries: First of all I'll define *insania*; then, if it shall appear that you are the only *insanus*, commit suicide; I won't stop you then (41-42).

(b) Definition of the theme: Whoever is driven blind by lack of the true philosophic spirit, by ignorance of the truth, is *insanus*: this is the pronouncement of all the Stoics, from Chrysippus down (43-45).

(c) Statement of the wide applicability of the definition: *Insania* takes many, many forms. Yet, after all, exactly the same thing underlies all the phenomena of *insania*, the inability of men to see things as they are (45-76).

Details here are as follows:

(1) Preliminary statement (45-46): On this definition all are *insani*, except the *sapiens*, the man who takes a philosopher's view of things.

(2) Listen, and I will tell you why this is true. In their daily lives all men are like persons lost in the woods—wandering in different directions, to be sure, but all wandering, not knowing whither they are moving (47-53).

(3) Illustrations, or Proofs, from two contrasted pairs of persons, all *insani* (53-76):

(1') those who see non-existent physical dangers (53-55) vs. those who do not see existent physical dangers (56-62).

(2') the man who lends money without taking any precaution whatever to get it back (64-68) vs. the man who takes every conceivable precaution to get back what he lends, but lends to a debtor who, as any one might know, could never be made, by all the precautions conceivable, to pay (69-76).

(d) Division of the theme into four subdivisions: *ambitio*, *avaritia*, *luxuria*, *superstitio*, all *morbi mentis*, forms of *insania* all (77-81).

2. Discussion proper (82-295).

(a) *Avaritia* discussed (82-159).

(1) Preliminary statement: Of all forms of *insania*, *avaritia* is the worst (82-83).

(2) Proofs³ or Illustrations (84-157):

(1') The case of Staberius: his *insania* extended beyond the grave (84-98).

³Horace can hardly be said to prove anything in this Sermo; rather, he illustrates statements whose truth he takes for granted.

(2') A slight digression, effective, however, since it reinforces the thought that Staberius was wildly *insanus* (99-103):

(1'') Example of *occupatio*, in effect, though not in form, since *Quid simile . . . segnes* is to be regarded as a quotation. 'You can't be serious! for, if Staberius was *insanus*, Aristippus, who did exactly the opposite thing, was sane and that I refuse to believe' (99-102).

(2'') 'Oh, but Aristippus too was *insanus*' (102-103).

(3') The sort of thing Staberius did in refusing to use his gold is as *insanum* as it would be to pile up what one does not intend to use or cannot use—*citharae* (104-105), or shoemaker's tools (106), or a *mercator's* equipment (106-110), as it would be to refuse to use something you need—grain (111-114), or wine (115-117), or decent coverlets (118-121).

(4') Two theoretically possible explanations of *avaritia* are now considered, only to be rejected (122-126).

(1'') You can't be heaping up riches that your heir may enjoy them? (122-123).

(2'') You can't be heaping up riches in fear that some day you'll be in need yourself? (123). That were an absurd fear, since a better mode of living would take so little from your stock (124-126).

Thus far Stertinius has charged the *avarus* with *stultitia* only. Now he seizes the opportunity to charge him with something which, to the lay mind, is far worse, with *scelus*, though, as he makes plain later, in the discussion of *amor* as a type of *luxuria* (275-280), *stultitia* and *scelus* are one and the same thing.

(5') Since, as you say, anything, however little, is enough for you (127), why do you, to get that 'little', commit so many crimes—perjury, sneakthievery, highway robbery (127-128), genteel, quiet murder (128-132)?—acts more insane than most of the things that Orestes did, more insane, indeed, than anything he did save one (133-141).

(6') Conscious, perhaps, that his last utterances (127-141) had been rather extravagant, Stertinius proceeds now in quieter vein, with a last example of *avaritia*, the case of Opi-mius (142-157), which is closely akin to three already employed (84-98, 104-110, 111-128).

(3) Summary (158-159).

2. *Ambitio* discussed (159-223).

(a) Introduction: transition to the discussion of *ambitio* (159-167).

(b) Proofs or Illustrations (168-223):

(1) How bad *ambitio* is, the opinion of Servius Oppidius, as shown by his deathbed lecture to his two sons, declares (168-186).

(2) Testimony to the same effect is given by the conduct of Agamemnon. Because he wanted to lead the Greeks successfully against Troy, and win fame thereby, he did what even mad Ajax did not do: he slew his own daughter (187-220).

(c) Summary (221-223).

3. *Luxuria* discussed (224-280).

(a) Preliminary statement (224-225).

(b) Illustrations (Proofs) (226-280):

(1') The young man who, having inherited a large fortune, gave it away, in whole or at least in large part, to the purveyors of luxuries (226-238).

(2') *Filius Aesopi* and the pearl he drank (239-242).

(3') *Progenies Arri*, and the nightingales they ate (243-246).

(4') The <adult, aged> *amator*, sillier than children at play (247-275): yes, far worse than silly, since he is led by his *amor* into *scelus* (275-278), though, after all, *stultitia* and *scelus* are one and the same thing (278-280).

4. *Superstitio* discussed (281-295).

(a) Illustration 1: the *libertinus*, who, with endless ceremonial, begs Jove to save him—just him! (281-287).

(b) Illustration 2: the mother who, even while praying that her son may recover from his present attack of chills and fever, promises that, when he does recover from it, she will set him, naked, on the river bank, early in the morning! (288-295).

III. Concluding dialogue, between Damasippus and Horace, giving the application of Stertinius's Lecture to Horace himself, whose sneer in 31 had called forth the Lecture (296-326).

1. *Damasippus*.—'There's the Lecture. Now, let who will call me mad: I'll know what to say to him' (296-299).

2. *Horace*.—'But where do I come in? why repeat that Lecture to me?' (300-302).

3. *Damasippus*.—'Why repeat it to you? Just because you are as crazy as Agave was, when she had the head of her own son, Pentheus, in her arms' (303-304).

4. *Horace*.—'Well, I'll—I'll—I'll admit I'm *insanus*: but I defy you to tell me *wherein* I am *insanus*' (305-307).

5. *Damasippus*.—'Oh, I can specify not merely one way, but several. First, you suffer from *ambitio* (307-320). Secondly, you write verses!! (321-322). Thirdly, you are *iratus*, *rabiosus*, *ira enim brevis furor est*' (323).

6. *Horace*.—'That will do: that will do' (323).

7. *Damasippus*.—'Fourthly, you are luxurious' (323-324).

8. *Horace*.—"Mind your own business" (324).
9. *Damasippus*.—"You are an *amator*" (325).
10. *Horace*.—"Mercy, mercy, Mr. Major *insanus* spare me, I'm only, after all, a *Minor insanus*" (326).

C. K.

THE ANCIENTS AND THE MODERNS—AN ENTENTE CORDIALE¹

This is an age which is terminating, and one may say terminating, I think, without fear of contradiction, because we are quite certainly assisting at the birth of a new one. It has terminated, this older time, with the triumph of an *entente cordiale* which awaited only this supreme trial to test its fundamental strength and honesty of purpose. It is a pleasant function at the opening of this new time to suggest to you an *entente cordiale* of the two important branches of study that form our most immediate concern, the Classics and the Modern Languages, an *entente cordiale* figured by our combined meeting of to-day.

The present time is not the only one that has resounded with the blows dealt the classic literatures. The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, begun by the Frenchman Perrault in the last years of the seventeenth century, revived by Houdard de la Motte a score of years later, echoing on the other side of the Channel in the Battle of the Books, has never been allowed to end in compromise or reconciliation. Originally founded upon a non-sequitur, the contention that, since the moderns came later in time, therefore they are the more excellent, the attacks still fortify themselves with the same sort of logic. One is inclined to suspect that much of the credit yielded to the party of the opposition has been due to the allegation that the classically trained men have been the first to mount to the assault. A strange sort of logic, this, in the argument that one hears repeated from day to day. As Professor Hill of Harvard remarked on the occasion of Charles Francis Adams's Phi Beta Kappa Oration, why not swallow atheism because so many professed atheists were once professing Christians?

It is unhappily true, I think, that only too many of our teachers of Modern Languages have borne arms in the Red battalions. Most of us have probably been trained to a greater or less degree in the Classics, and, we hope, remember them with affection and profit. It shall be our attempt to suggest, however superficially and imperfectly within the brief time at our disposal, not only the considerations of pleasure and affection, but those of a more selfish nature that should actuate a modern alliance of the Ancients and the Moderns.

How long is it, teachers of Modern Languages, before the guns that have hurled such a quantity of metal at the Classics will be dropping their projectiles all about our own defences? Do we realise sufficiently the trend of modern education to comprehend the importance of

offensive and defensive alliances? Is not the vigorous campaign in the interests of Spanish, waged noisily enough, too, by the publishers, a sign of the direction in which we are going?

The blatant campaign to advance Spanish calls our startled attention to the two great opposing forces in education to-day. There is a great conflict between the spirit and the senses that in one way or another governs our modern choice. On one hand stand the Classics with all the inherited dignity of wisdom and tradition felt from Dante's day to our own. What a pity that the number is steadily decreasing of those who can feel as Dante did on seeing Homer and Lucan and other classic worthies in the limbo of the inferno,

Genti v'eran con occhi tardi e gravi
Di grande autorità ne' lor sembianti;
Parlavan rado, con voci soavi,

or can exclaim of any one writer as Dante did of the great Greek who dominated all the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, "il maestro di coloro che sanno". Triumphant and intolerant science has made it more and more difficult for us to free ourselves and our students from the force of tangible actuality, from the controlling purpose of making a living, and instead to enlarge the bounds of the spirit and the mind. The present enormous vogue of commercial Spanish shows how rapidly the older conception of education seems to be breaking down or giving way, and being replaced by mere instruction. I have not the slightest quarrel with Spanish, but most emphatically I have with the fashion in which it is being taught. How many there are who would have us cast overboard the robust literature of Spain that still remains in our College curriculum, because it is evident that our commercial future is bound up with the progress of South America, who would have us teach provincialisms of pronunciation and idiom because we have to do commercially with those who use them. Is it because we have no great future of that stripe with the French Canadians that French has so far remained inviolate in the teaching of its pronunciation, or because the smoky figure of a great French commerce has not ascended from the magician's bottle that we have not been deluged with an equal number of texts in commercial French, as if, forsooth, there were such a thing? Professor Ernest Wilkins, in a paper read before The New England Modern Language Association, in Boston, a week ago, calls attention to the fact that the number of students studying Spanish in School and College is almost exactly equal to that of students taking French and that an alarmingly larger and larger proportion of these young pupils are pursuing Spanish from the commercial point of view.

The victorious scientist and educationist are vociferously insisting that this is an age of fact. What they mean by fact is concentration of the attention upon immediate needs for existence. They are firmly convinced that all branches of education must be tested by this consideration. Since the Classics will not, in their

¹This paper was read at a joint meeting of the Vermont Section of The Classical Association of New England and of The New England Modern Language Association, May 16, 1919.

view, measure to their standard, they must go. The same test is confidently being applied to other subjects, and you must be warned that we are now being called upon to explain and justify the reading of a classic French tragedy. The test of the practical is settling its choking ring about the necks of all, and no one is now crying more loudly in horror than some of the real scientists who themselves helped to pull down the lofty structure.

All the high-voiced denial of the things of the spirit that have been bequeathed us by the Classics is inevitably certain to lead in our modern life to the kind of intellectual determinism that rules the novels of Zola, the tyranny of the 'petit fait' of our environment, which breeds one of two things—a cynical pessimism, or an equally brash and shallow optimism.

What are the real advantages to be grasped by an active alliance with the Classics or by the support of them? Well, it depends in a very great measure, I fancy, upon what you propose to do, to educate or to instruct.

I venture to say, that, for the purposes of a veritable education, we have still to seek the substitute for the classic languages and mathematics as mental disciplines. For this statement I expect to be taken violently to task, but I rest content to reply that with the advocates of other substitutes still lies the burden of proof. Others, the natural sciences and what not, have been proposed, but we still need proof whether, in cases where such new disciplines have supplanted Greek and Latin and Mathematics, taught, as was Mrs. Battell's whist, with the full rigors of the game, students are as well able to express themselves with clarity and sequence.

Meanwhile, we might as well drop for all time the notion that Greek and Latin are in themselves a mysterious sort of fetic, to be worshipped and mentioned with bated breath. We ought to see more clearly that the main business, after all, as in mathematics, is the expression of ideas and not the description of facts. And I think it susceptible of proof that the latter may be considerably dependent upon the former. Are we teachers of Modern Languages content to find our interest in developing a capacity for the comprehension and expressions of ideas? Then let us not be too ready to help bury Roman literature, let us say; let us reflect that the Romans, with their habit of mental discipline that made them the greatest jurists in the world, made of Latin one of the most logical instruments of expression. In spite of everything, consciously or unconsciously, that logic is communicable.

Are we fundamentally anxious that our students shall acquire easily not only the superficial facts and essentials of the grammar and syntax of the Modern Languages, but shall understand them thoroughly and handle them skilfully? Then I say to you that it is much to your interest to have them well-trained in Greek and Latin. As they study Latin, they are early drilled in a complex but logical language structure which

is reflected in the Modern Languages, which is, indeed, the actual parent of the Romance group. The ease and perfection with which the average student will do his language work will vary directly with the amount of his precedent training in the Classics.

To tell us that the study of the Classics may well begin in the Colleges will not do, since such studies may very materially crowd the time devoted to the Modern Languages, but more especially because training in Greek and Latin in the early period of youth is imperative, since the knowledge possible to acquire later will be decidedly insufficient. Neither will it do to urge the opinion so often vented that it serves quite as useful a purpose to read our Classics in translation. It admits of no discussion that the student who, not having read the originals, has read his translations has gained something by having read the translations, but there is a degree of foolish presumption in making that fact the warrant for the conclusion that the translations offer the same profit as the original, or perhaps even more profit, because the disturbing element of another language is absent. Who cannot realise that in translation into English a curtain has imperceptibly been dropped between the Greek or the Latin and the modern reader? And mark you, some of the most vigorous supporters of this idea are those who would least tolerate its application to modern French or German literature. The 'feeling' that resided in the muscular and sinewy form of expression of the tongue has insensibly been lost, the sense of exquisite structure and balance and logic in the medium to which the thought itself belonged. This is the thing of which our student has been robbed.

It is permissible, perhaps, to depart for the moment from the interrelations of the Classics and the Modern Languages to consider how our teachers of English may be helped mightily in their labors by the conservation of the Classics in the curriculum. This matter has so often been discussed that it seems almost too obvious to bring it forward, except that we should never forget that every word said for English is applicable to the Modern Languages, to whatever degree we give training in the writing of them. The process of formation of the English language has been, to be sure, eclectic beyond that of the other Modern Languages, but, despite the oft-repeated assertion, the element of Anglo-Saxon is by no means so superior in quantity to the Latin and French elements as men would have us believe. Whence would come the very special sense of meaning in English and the feeling for delicacy of synonyms in English if not from familiarity with one of the great languages helping to form English? I doubt very much if, generally speaking, the study of Anglo-Saxon or Norman-French would contribute in half as great a degree to the sense of logic and reason in the ordering of English phrase. It would be interesting, and I fancy enlightening, to tabulate the educational antecedents of the admittedly great stylists in English, and it would only be fair to include those of the last

twenty years whose style has distinction and elegance. I wonder on which side of the ledger the account would lie. It is by no means unlikely that a very considerable number of English students really learn from the Classics their grammar, now sadly deficient among those who have missed their Greek and Latin, and have been brought up under the guidance of beaddled faddists. In this connection it is worth while to quote from a letter by Professor J. G. Eldridge, of the University of Idaho:

Since dropping the Latin requirement for admission, we find students coming very poorly prepared in English. We are therefore arranging, beginning next year, that students entering with less than two years of Latin shall take a special one-year course, largely vocabulary building from Latin and Greek roots, or else the regular elementary Latin.

The cry of the devotee of the practical, the demand for results, may certainly in this respect be made to jeer him out of court. No instructor who has ever labored with advanced courses in French composition and style can ever fail to bless the chance that sends him classically trained students. This is true for all the Modern Languages, but especially for French. The entrance examinations of students not classically trained show weakness in knowledge of grammar and little facility in expression. In College classes the contrast between students classically trained and those not so trained is striking. In fact, the general curve of excellence for all studies is apt to show in very marked degree the influence of classical studies. In a recent advanced course in Spanish, numbering about forty students, none of the nine who failed was classically trained, and the six or seven who stood highest were so trained. The latter had in addition at least a year of Greek or Latin or both in the College. So one might rove through a world of analogous situations in other subjects, history, general science, economics, philosophy. We have interesting French testimony regarding the decline of scholarship in the technical Schools after the paring away of the classical programmes.

When, in 1902, with the aid of arguments that made it appear to many unsuspecting Frenchmen that the classical languages were secretly associated with clericalism, Latin and Greek were banished from the programmes of the technical Schools by the Ministry of Public Instruction in France, almost irreparable harm was done to their standards of scholarship. It appeared that non-classically trained students were incapable of reaching former high levels of scientific thought and accomplishment. Hence a request from various Schools and from the Master of Forges and Furnaces that the former requirement be reestablished (see Dimnet, *France Herself Again*, 330 f.).

The classic literatures have been alike in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the modern period, so much the warp and the woof of literature and art that to be ignorant of their more familiar aspects is to render oneself inappreciative of all that has been done up to the day before yesterday, or, still worse, spiritually and

intellectually inhospitable, ready to shut one's intellectual door with a rude bang upon the guest whose character and visage one does not too readily recognize. Professor Irving Babbitt remarks in one of his essays that in a modern class-room it is far easier to find appreciation on the part of students for Rostand's romantic *Cyrano* than for Racine's classic tragedy of *Phèdre*. And yet the matter goes much deeper than a mere question of exteriority and interiority, far below any surface difference between the literary critical-tags of romantic and classic. Actually—I use the word in a French sense—the up-to-date youth is either inhospitable to, or shut out from everything but what is the most ephemeral in art, literary or otherwise. When men are once cast adrift from classical, or rational, canons of criticism, they fall wonderingly upon the madly excessive or immoderate in art, and in a moment wonder changes to veneration. How else explain the maudlin court paid to the crew of cubists, imagists, and futurists, more than half of whom have played cynically upon the silly ignorance of their admirers?

In the compact of our *entente cordiale*, all is not for the party of the second part. Our classical friends can well second our efforts and so brace the solidarity of linguistic studies. It is for them to point out to students of Greek and Latin the main channels of absorption and imitation in modern literatures, the spirit in which this has been effected, where to find the most notable examples, and so forth. Secondly, it should be their task and their pleasure to show something of the lines of linguistic descent in other languages, with their offshoots, and to excite the curiosity and the interest of the student in the proofs of kinship.

Finally, without presumption be it said, the defenders of the Classics may find some means at hand to strengthen their own teaching and spur the interest of students in some of the means of teaching used and found good by the teachers of Modern Languages. This is true reciprocity, and in it must be found the united force to present a solid front to the hosts of the banal and the cheap, and unintelligent facility.

ROMANCE DEPARTMENT,
University of Vermont.

ARTHUR B. MYRICK.

REVIEWS

The Significance of Certain Colors in Roman Ritual.
By Mary Emma Armstrong. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company (1917).
Pp. 52.

It seems desirable to enter upon a somewhat extended review of this Johns Hopkins University dissertation, because it is concerned with problems not sufficiently investigated before. To determine the significance of symbolism is a pursuit as fascinating as it is difficult. Miss Armstrong has undoubtedly performed a valuable service, not in the least impaired by the impossibility of attaining finality in all respects. No one is more conscious than the author of this dissertation of the need of caution and the remoteness of definitive results.

But we need inquiries, characterized by the sanity of this dissertation, to explain problems of color which in themselves are of intrinsic importance, and, moreover, possess value because of the history of the use of these colors in the Christian Church.

In Chapter I (pages 1-20) Miss Armstrong discusses three points: the difference between *punicus*, 'scarlet', and *purpureus*; the use of scarlet; the reasons for the use of scarlet in Roman religious affairs.

The distinction between scarlet and purple is essential, because the Romans sharply distinguished the two. Even Helbig¹ had not exercised the caution which Miss Armstrong displays.

Scarlet was widely employed in garments, in fillets, and in decorations by priests of many cults. In medicine, scarlet was frequently used as a means of cure; this rested upon the idea of driving away evil spirits. The conclusion drawn from this usage would seem to be in the direction of an association of scarlet with blood, as in the case of purple. If in medicine we have primary notions, Miss Armstrong's argument in favor of identifying scarlet with lightning traverses dangerous ground.

However, Servius² says there were three kinds of *trabeae*: (1) purple, (2) purple and white, (3) purple and scarlet. For the existence of these distinctions there were, presumably, good reasons. Miss Armstrong is, I think, quite correct in maintaining that the *trabeae* of the flamens of Jupiter and Mars were similar to those worn by the augurs³, whose *trabeae* were distinguished by scarlet and purple. A sustained argument of great skill undertakes to explain the significance of the use of scarlet by the augurs. It rests upon the fact that the woodpecker and the lightning were essential to augury; and from the well-known argument of Mr. A. B. Cook⁴, that Mars and Jupiter were identical, Miss Armstrong proceeds to the conclusion that scarlet symbolized lightning. Many instances are given showing the interrelation of lightning, fire, and this color; these are drawn from many sources.

This chapter not only deals with facts, offering corrections of Helbig and Wissowa (no slight distinction), but exhibits imagination. Miss Armstrong applies her theory, at times convincingly, at times (as was inevitable) only suggestively. She is, I believe, quite right in insisting (19) that the twisted fillets of the Vestals were probably scarlet and white.

Chapter II (21-31) is occupied with a discussion of the color purple, *purpureus*. After mention of the fact of the very wide use of this color in religious and other circumstances, the author guardedly disclaims much originality or finality for her discussion, in saying (21) that she hopes to have paved the way for further study by showing how extensively the color was employed, and by discussing various theories regarding its use and meaning. The collection of the source material bearing

upon the employment of purple is valuable and the discussion is interesting. The question whether purple always had one significance in the wide and various uses of it by Vestals, knights, senators, many priests, triumphant generals, and other secular officers, mourning women, and others, at once presents itself to the skeptical mind. The function of the color in medicine plainly appears to have been magical, as a substitute for life-giving blood. The shades of *purpureus* are carefully discussed and the treatment of the subject of this chapter leaves little to be desired from the point of view of our orthodox methodology.

As early as the Second Punic War, it is said, purple had lost its purely religious significance. None the less great effort and ingenuity are expended by the author upon disclosing the probable meanings that the color may have had in its religious and other associations. The relation of the color purple to blood had been pointed out by Diels⁵, who deduced from the use of blood in sacrifices the lustral and prophylactic meanings of purple. Miss Armstrong cites Diels with due obligation, but points out that he had not differentiated *purpureus*, *punicus*, and *luteus*. She cites some of the more significant of the ancient sources which associate blood and purple. The meaning of these passages is beyond question; they point clearly to a substitution of purple for blood, symbolic of life. Passages follow confirming the truth of the formula: blood = life, health, strength. Acceptance of this perfectly natural conception was not limited to the Romans; and illustrations are given. But it does not follow that "the use of the blood to 'scare evil spirits' is clearly secondary to its use as a health-giving power"⁶. With the position here taken, the final paragraph of this chapter does not appear to be entirely consistent.

But for Rome and the Romans the answer lies altogether in the significance of the use of blood at sacrifices—a question all too large for this discussion unless the dissertation had been limited to an investigation of the significance of purple. A definite conclusion about the use of blood is essential to a determination of the meaning of the color purple as its substitute or equivalent. Miss Armstrong is quite aware of this and duly refers to the theories of Samter, Fowler, Robertson Smith, and Pley. She offers the suggestion (28) that in time ". . . the original connection with bloodshed may . . . have been forgotten, and the prophylactic idea may have partially, if not completely, supplanted the lustral conception". It is altogether possible to furnish illustration for this theory, showing the ultimate force of the prophylactic idea, as Miss Armstrong does, without however proving the priority of one idea or the other. Dogmatism is somewhat precarious, as the contradictory views of Von Duhn, Sonny, and Samter show. It is curious that we do not find more specula-

¹W. Helbig, *Toga und Trabeae*, *Hermes* 39 (1904), 161-181.

²On *Aeneid* 7.512.

³Compare Notes 30, 32, 170, on pages 4 and 19.

⁴A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge University Press, 1914).

⁵H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, page 70, note 2 (G. Reimer, Berlin, 1896).

⁶See page 25, note 48. Compare W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 2.20 (Armstrong, Westminster, 1896).

tion in Roman literature explaining the significance of the symbolic use of this color, so striking in itself and so widely employed. A few errors in typography and in references have been noted. But these will not be recorded here: it is much more agreeable to commend the thoroughness of a chapter that places the problem squarely and honestly before us and corrects the errors of several previous investigators (compare Notes 37, 70). It probably never will be possible to bring all cases under one category or to prove the historical evolution of the significance of the use of purple.

Miss Armstrong's conclusion (37-38) that to the Romans white represented the clear light of day, and hence was pleasing to the powers of the sky, and that black was the color of the night and of the interior of the earth, therefore fitting for the underworld, rests chiefly upon the rarely violated rule of the Romans that white victims were suitable to the gods above and black victims to the gods below. This conclusion is fortified by several corollaries: that black animals and black garments were sacred to the dark divinities; that black signified bad luck, while white indicated good fortune; that white garments were regularly used in the worship of heavenly deities. While this general conclusion is in all probability correct, we ought not to limit ourselves and associate only one idea with whiteness and only one idea with blackness. White assuredly came to stand for purity, even if it did not have this meaning originally; the white of the Vestal's costume is not treated at all. Fehrle's thesis⁷ has much evidence to support it and we ought not to rule out his hypothesis that the religious wearing of white was prophylactic, simply because the Romans made no use of this color in burial. The color undoubtedly gained in time several meanings and the author's delimitation of its significance seems unfair to Roman imagination.

The same criticism applies to Chapter IV (39-50), on the use of gold. The custom of gilding the horns of sacrificial animals was widespread, and the use of golden objects by gods, kings, and heroes is attested by interesting examples from many different lands. But the data brought forward do not bear out the author's contention that gold objects were especially ascribed to the sun and his race. The cynical speech of Janus in Ovid, *Fasti* 1.191-226, appears to me to reveal the primary secret of the use of gold in Roman religious rites and ceremonies. The discussion of the significance of gold in India as representing success, prosperity, glory, health, long life, and even immortality shows the possibilities involved. Pliny⁸ associated not only costliness but also purity with gold. Miss Armstrong⁹ admits that a variety of influences may have affected Vergil in representing the Po with gilded horns. She proposes an interesting interpretation of the significance of the Vergilian golden bough (49-50). The chapter has a maximum of suggestive material; but it seems to me a mis-

take, however fascinating the enterprise, to equate gold and the sun, because of the truth of the propositions that fire = sun = life, and gold = life. The use of gold in medicine and in charms is also recorded by the author and it is clear that gold was regarded as possessing both healing and harmful powers¹⁰. But this excellent chapter suffers from an undue emphasis upon the solar hypothesis.

In conclusion, may I not express regret that the Bibliography does not list all the works cited in the course of the dissertation? Portal, *De Couleurs Symboliques*, is not mentioned at all. An index of the ancient sources referred to would have been valuable. The author shows command of her literature, but a more direct statement of indebtedness to Pauly-Wissowa, to Aust, or to others for accumulated illustrative material might have been expected and would have been useful to the reader.

UNIVERSITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

GEORGE DEPUE HADZITS.

The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus. By Maurice Platnauer. Oxford: at the University Press (1919). Pp. 222. \$5.65.

In this study of the life and reign of Septimius Severus Mr. Platnauer has made a valuable contribution to the history of the principate, a contribution signalled by independence of judgment, a thorough knowledge of the sources, and a careful discussion of many of the difficult problems which they present.

The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the literary tradition. This involves a consideration of the vexed problem of the authorship and the editorship of the *Historia Augusta*. In concluding a lengthy exposition and criticism of the various theories advanced on this point up to 1914 the author voices the opinion that the evidence is too slight to admit of any final judgment. His own view is that the *Lives* were written by the persons to whom they are traditionally ascribed, at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century; that they were subsequently collected and edited, probably by one of the six authors, in the first third of the fourth century; and that it is possible but not certain that alterations were made in the text during this recension. He also supports the idea that two main sources were used by these authors, one chronological and reliable, the other biographical and worthless.

Mr. Platnauer emphasizes the fact that the value of the *Lives* to historians is largely independent of this question of authorship, and must be determined in the light of the sources used by the authors of the *Historia*, and the faithfulness with which they followed them. On this question, too, he finds it impossible to speak with finality. Yet the *Historia* cannot be entirely disregarded, and so he reaches the working rule that, in case of disagreement among the literary sources, where none is supported by other evidence, Herodian is to be preferred to Spartian (the author of the *Life of Severus*),

¹⁰The proposed interpretation (see Note 113) is not convincing.

⁷E. Fehrle, *Die Kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, 68 ff. (A. Topfmann, Giessen, 1910).

⁸N. H. 33-38-60.

⁹Note 78; Vergil, *Georgics* 4.371.

and Dio Cassius (in Xiphilinus's Epitome) to both. The epigraphic and numismatic sources are dealt with in the second chapter.

Chapter III traces the life of Severus to 193 A.D. Mr. Platnauer accepts and defends the traditional view that Severus began his public career as an *advocatus fisci*. However, he is skeptical with regard to the tale of the impeachment of Severus for having consulted astrologers when proconsul of Sicily in 189. In an appendix to this chapter he discusses the date of Caracalla's birth, which he places on April 4, 188, a date that would dispose of the possibility of his being the son of Marcia, the first wife of Severus.

The next three chapters are devoted to the revolt of Severus and his wars with Niger and Albinus. It seems curious that the revolt of the latter and the offer of the title of Caesar which Severus made to him should be dismissed with the words "Albinus he had mollified by the offer of Caesarship and the promise of a consulship" (page 61). Something more detailed and definite would certainly be in place in Chapter VI, to correspond to the account given of Niger's actions, on page 76.

Chapter VII discusses the war in the East between 197 and 202, and contains a chronological note which attempts to account for the movements of Severus between July, 200, and June, 202 A.D. The eighth chapter covers the period from 202 to the death of Severus in 211. To this is appended an excursus on the Roman Wall between the Tyne and the Solway Firth, showing, on the basis of literary and archaeological evidence, that, contrary to the current view, Severus did not replace an earth wall by one of stone, but merely repaired a preexisting stone wall, which probably dates from the time of Hadrian or the Antonines.

The chapter (IX) on religion and philosophy is somewhat sketchy and perfunctory in character, although containing an interesting account of the circle of Julia Domna. We miss any reference to Cumont's *Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*. It is hardly necessary to point out that it is an anticipation to speak of the Roman bishops of 189 and 205 A.D. as Popes.

Chapter X, *De Re Militari*, deserves particular notice because in it Mr. Platnauer attacks several widely accepted views of the military policy of Septimius Severus. First, here (and also on page 67), he takes issue with the view of Domazewski that Severus was responsible for the barbarizing of the Roman army. This view rests upon the fact that Severus opened the ranks of the pretorian guard to soldiers from all the provinces, and upon the dearth of inscriptional evidence to Italian centurions and legionary tribunes subsequent to this reign, from which is drawn the conclusion that "the price which Severus offered the provincial legionary for the crown was the extermination of the centurion of Italian-Roman origin". In answer to this Mr. Platnauer points out that the pretorian guard had previously been opened to Spaniards, Macedonians, and Noricans, and therefore the admission of other provincials proves no very radical departure from the previous imperial

policy, nor does it necessarily indicate the inclusion of less civilized elements in the ranks of the guard. Furthermore, since Domazewski himself admits that "after the Severi the indication of origin disappears from the inscriptions of centurions", the absence of any positive evidence for Italians does not prove that they were purposely excluded. As a matter of fact Italian-born centurions did serve under and after Severus, as did Italian officers in the *Auxilia*. Finally, Mr. Platnauer argues, even if we grant that the Italian centurions were superseded by provincials, this would not prove a barbarization of the army because of the general high level of culture obtaining at the opening of the third century throughout the Empire as a whole.

It seems to me that the attempt of Domazewski and others to render Severus responsible for a deliberate barbarizing of the army has been fairly disproved. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that after Hadrian the legions were recruited from the districts in which they were stationed, which meant that the rank and file at least were drawn from the borders of the provinces, that is from the least civilized or most barbarous elements within the Empire. In this sense a barbarization of the army did occur in the course of the second and early third centuries, but it began long before the reign of Severus.

In the second place, Mr. Platnauer attacks the view that Severus was responsible for relaxing the bonds of discipline in the army, particularly by permitting the legionaries to live with their families outside the camps to which they belonged, while the camps became merely a "combination of drill-ground and clubrooms". For this he holds that evidence is totally wanting. What Severus probably did was to permit the legionary to contract a legal marriage when in active service. Admitting an increase in pay, more rapid promotion, and new honors and civilian appointments made accessible to soldiers, Mr. Platnauer concludes that we can only say that the "principate of Severus marks an epoch in the civilizing and refining of the legionary's life". In the garrisoning of Italy with the Second Parthian legion, the author sees not merely one more step in the long process of equalizing the status of Italy and the provinces, but also an anticipation of the military reform of Diocletian which created a field army in addition to the frontier garrisons.

Chapter XI, on the home administration of Severus, is an excellent summary of the administrative changes effected in this reign, and the last chapter presents a picture of contemporary conditions in the province. The flourishing state of the treasury and the general well-being of the provincials present no evidences for a decline of the Empire under the first African princeps. In short, Mr. Platnauer refuses to concur in the judgment of Gibbon that Severus was "the principal author of the decline of the Roman Empire" or in the statement of Domazewski that he planted "the despotism of the East in the soil of the West".

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